

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NICOSI 03012 281710Z

73

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 /079 W

----- 033083

R 281504Z SEP 76

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4529

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

DIA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 3012

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU

SUBJECT: DENKTASH COMMENTS ON CYPRUS PROBLEM AND UDI

REF: (A) NICOSIA 2429 (201259Z AUG 76); (B) ANKARA 6507 (241020Z  
AUG 76)

USCINCEUR FOR POLAD; USDOCOSOUTH FOR POLAD

1. SUMMARY: TURK CYPRIOT LEADER DENKTASH, IN SEPT. 7 INTERVIEW  
WITH WEST GERMAN TELEVISION RELEASED FOR PUBLICATION SEPT. 25,  
STATED THAT THE MAKARKOS LEADERSHIP DOES NOT WANT A COMPROMISE  
SOLUTION BASED ON BICOMMUNAL CYPRUS GOVERNMENT; SAID THAT GREEK  
CYPRIOTS'

LONG STRUGGLE IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH NEGOTIATIONS ON A BIREGIONAL  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NICOSI 03012 281710Z

BICOMMUNAL REPUBLIC; VIGOROUSLY PRESSED HIS CASE FOR UDI, AD-

MITTING THAT HE WAS TRYING TO "SHAKE UP" ANKARA TO THE REALITIES;  
AND SPECULATED ON FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES.

2. REGARDING NEGOTIATIONS, DENKTASH SAID: "IT IS EITHER 'LONG STRUGGLE' AND AN ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE PRESENT REALITY, PROBABLY BY FORCE OF ARMS...OR NEGOTIATING WITHIN THIS REALITY FOR THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF A BICOMMUNAL REPUBLIC. THEY (MAKARIOS, KYPRIANOU AND PAPADOPOULOS) HAVE CHOSEN THE LONG STRUGGLE AND THE ELECTIONS SHOW THAT THEY HAVE WON." "WE ARE STATELESS IN OUR OWN COUNTRY", DENKTASH AID, "BECAUSE MAKARIOS CALLS HIMSELF THE HEAD OF A GOVERNMENT AND THE HEAD OF A STATE WHICH THE TURK CYPRIOTS HAVE HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH FOR THE PAST 12 YEARS." "THE WORLD MUST UNDERSTAND THESE REALITIES AND THESE FACTS IN CYPRUS. WE CANNOT SIT HERE AND JUST BE WHAT WE ARE FOREVER...IF (THE GREEK CYPRIOTS) SUCCEED AGAIN (AT THE UNGA); IF WE ARE NOT HEARD; IF WE GET A WORSE RESOLUTION AGAINST OUR INTERESTS, THEN NATURALLY WE WILL HAVE TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT AND THAT IS THE TIME TO RECONSIDER THE POLICY."

3. ASKED WHETHER ANKARA SUPPORTED UDI, DENKTASH REPLIED WITH CANDOR, "NO, BY THIS STATEMENT I AM ALSO TRYING TO SHAKE UP ANKARA TO THE REALITIES. BECAUSE I FEEL THE NECESSITY (OF SUCH A STEP) MORE THAN ANKARA...AND I HAVE TO SAY IT UNTIL ANKARA SAYS THAT IT IS GOING TO SUPPORT ME." ON TIMING OF UDI, DENKTASH SAID "THE TIME HAS PASSED BECAUSE... THERE IS NO USE WAITING FOR MAKARIOS." ANKARA, HOWEVER, IS "PARTLY HESITANT."

4. ASKED IF UDI MEANT COMPLETE SEPARATION, DENKTASH REPLIED THAT "IT IS 100 PERCENT SEPARATION. WE MUST WORK FOR POLITICAL UNITY AT THE TOP LEVEL IN A JOINT GOVERNMENT ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY. IT WILL BE A KIND OF UNION OF TWO SEPARATE STATES... ON A BASIS OF EQUITY FOR LIMITED MATTERS. AND THAT WILL BE THE BEGINNING. IT WILL THEN BE UP TO THE TWO SIDES... TO WORK WITH UNITY INTO A MORE COMPLETE FORM, AS TIME PASSES BY ESTABLISHING TRUST AND UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES."

5. COMMENTS: (A) WE BELIEVE THIS NEW STATEMENT ON UDI STRENGTHENS THE POINT WHICH WE MADE IN NICOSIA 2429, AND  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NICOSI 03012 281710Z

WITH WHICH ANKARA TOOK ISSUE (ANKARA 6507), THAT "ANY DECISION REGARDING UDI RESTS WITH ANKARA." WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT ANKARA'S ATTITUDE IS THE DETERMINANT SINCE THE TURK CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP HAS ALREADY CONCLUDED THAT THERE IS NO REALISTIC ALTERNATIVE TO UDI AND IS NOW ONLY WAITING FOR ANKARA TO BE PERSUADED OF THIS VIEW. IN OUR JUDGMENT, IF DENKTASH PERCEIVES THAT ANKARA REMAINS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO UDI ON SECURITY AND OTHER GROUNDS, HE IS MOST UNLIKELY TO PRESENT ANKARA WITH A

UDI FAIT ACCOMPLI, REGARDLESS OF THE STATE OF ANTI-GREEK TENSION OR NATIONALISTIC FERVOR IN TURKEY. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, HE PERCEIVES THAT ANKARA'S RESOLVE TO RESIST HIS SEDUCTIVE UDI ARGUMENTS IS WEAKENING, HE COULD, AS EMBASSY ANKARA SUGGESTED, (REF B), BE TEMPTED TO FORCE ANKARA'S HAND.

(B) ON BALANCE, WE DO NOT THINK DENKTASH WILL SUCCUMB TO TEMPTATION. WE TEND TO TAKE AT FACE VALUE THE NATIONAL UNITY PARTY PROGRAM AND THE REPEATED STATEMENTS OF DENKTASH AND OTHER TURKISH LEADERS (INCLUDING "PRIME MINISTER" KONUK AND NEGOTIATOR ONAN) THAT A MOVE TO UDI WILL ONLY BE TAKEN WITH THE CONSENT OF THE MOTHERLAND. DENKTASH, THOUGH ARDENTLY IN FAVOR OF UDI, IS FIRST AND FOREMOST A TURKISH NATIONALIST. HE WOULD NOT WANT TO TAKE A STEP WHICH WOULD BE INTERPRETED AS ANTI-NATIONAL AND HE IS KEENLY AWARE THAT IN A PERIOD WHEN THE "TFSC" IS SO UTTERLY DEPENDENT ON TURKISH SUCCOR AND SUPPORT, SEIZING A DELICATE MOMENT IN TURKEY'S INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION TO FORCE ANKARA INTO SUPPORTING UDI AGAINST ITS WILL AND BETTER JUDGMENT WOULD ENGENDER DEEP BITTERNESS, JEOPARDIZE WORKING RELATIONSHIPS, AND RISK UNDERMINING HIMSELF POLITICALLY.

(C) IN SUM, WHILE WE AGREE WITH EMBASSY ANKARA THAT DENKTASH'S ABILITY TO RESIST GOT TUTELAGE HAS INCREASED, WE BELIEVE THAT DENKTASH'S INCREASED INDEPENDENCE IS MAINLY IN THE DOMESTIC FIELD AND WITH ANKARA'S CONSENT AND EVEN ENCOURAGEMENT; THAT ANKARA HAS MADE CLEAR THAT IT WILL REMAIN THE CONTROLLING FACTOR IN DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS REGARDING NORTHERN CYPRUS; AND THAT DENKTASH HAS ACCEPTED THIS AND RECOGNIZED THERE WOULD BE LITTLE BENEFIT AND MUCH HARM IN OPPORTUNISTICALLY GOING FOR UDI ON BASIS OF A TEMPORARY AND ARTIFICIAL CONSENSUS WITH ANKARA.

CRAWFORD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PERSONAL OPINION, POLITICAL SITUATION, PRESS CONFERENCES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 28 SEP 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** BoyleJA  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976NICOSI03012  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760366-0465  
**From:** NICOSIA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760912/aaaaakaz.tel  
**Line Count:** 145  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 76 NICOSIA 2429, 76 ANKARA 6507  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** BoyleJA  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 05 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <05 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <05 AUG 2004 by BoyleJA>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** DENKTASH COMMENTS ON CYPRUS PROBLEM AND UDI  
**TAGS:** PFOR, CY, TU, (DENKTASH)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006